

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 IO-10 L-02

NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01

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C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3742

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG, PARM

SUBJECT: CSCE: CBM'S: NATURE OF COMMITMENT AND STRUCTURE
OF FINAL DOCUMENT

REFS: A. GENEVA 3634

B. GENEVA 1962

C. STATE 136932

D. GENEVA 3323

E. STATE 88861

F. GENEVA 3110

1. SUMMARY: ALLIES IN CAUCUS HAVE GAINED IMPRESSION IN LAST WEEK THAT SOVIETS ARE WILLING TO WORK ON BASIS OF TEXT PROPOSED BY UK FOR "VOLUNTARY BASIS," AND CAUCUS HAS MOVED ON TO RELATED QUESTIONS OF PLACEMENT OF UK TEXT IN FINAL DOCUMENT, NATURE OF COMMITMENT, AND STRUCTURE OF FINAL DOCUMENT ON CBM'S. ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE ON SPECIFIC NORWEGIAN SUGGESTIONS ON NATURE OF COMMITMENT AND USE OF SUB-TITLES. END SUMMARY.

2. DURING ALLIED CAUCUS ON MAY 20, NORWEGIAN REP
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REPORTED THAT SOVIET AMBASSADOR MENDELEVITCH IN PRIVATE CONTACT AFTER MAY 16 MEETINGS HAD SAID THAT UK TEXT

APPEARED (REF A) TO BE AN ACCEPTABLE BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION, AND HAD IMPLIED THAT SOVIETS WOULD HAVE RELATIVELY FEW PROPOSALS FOR SMENDMENTS. OTHERS HAD SIMILAR IMPRESSIONS. ON ASSUMPTION THAT SOVIETS AND OTHERS WOULD EVENTUALLY ACCEPT PREAMBULAR TREATMENT OF "VOLUNTARY BASIS," ALLIES TURNED TO QUESTION OF PLACEMENT OF UK TEXT IN CBM DOCUMENT AND RELATED QUESTIONS.

3. PLACEMENT: IN STATEMENTS IN SUBCOMMITTEE ON MAY 16, ALLIED REPS MADE CLEAR THAT UK PROPOSAL REPRESENTS A PACKAGE, AND THAT THOUGHTS IN IT MUST BE KEPT TOGETHER WHEREVER THEY ARE PLACED IN DOCUMENT. BECAUSE OF INTERNAL ALLIED DIFFERENCE OF VIEW AS TO WHETHER TEXT SHOULD BE PART OF OVERALL PREAMBLE OR SHOULD CONSTITUTE A SEPARATE, SPECIAL "MINI-PREAMBLE" FOR MANEUVERS MEASURE, ALLIED REPS MERELY SPECIFIED THAT PACKAGE WAS TO BE CONSIDERED "PREAMBULAR." MAJORITY VIEW SHARED BY U.S. REP WAS THAT TEXT SHOULD BE INSERTED IN OVERALL PREAMBLE, BUT SEVERAL REPS ARGUED FOR "MINI-PREAMBLE" OPTION ON GROUNDS THAT OPERATIVE LANGUAGE FOR MANEUVERS MEASURE THAT WOULD FOLLOW IMMEDIATELY THEREAFTER COULD THEN CONTAIN STRICTER NATURE OF COMMITMENT THAN OTHER CBM'S. FOR TIME BEING, ALLIES AGREED ON COMMON LINE THAT TEXT SHOULD BE IN OVERALL PREAMBLE, BUT THAT "MINI-PREAMBLE" OPTION COULD BE RECONSIDERED IF SOVIETS AND NEUTRALS WISH TO INSERT UK TEXT IMMEDIATELY BEFORE OPERATIVE LANGUAGE ON MANEUVERS.

4. NATURE OF COMMITMENT: GIVEN ALLIED ACCEPTANCE OF WORDS "VOLUNTARY BASIS" IN UK TEXT, A NUMBER OF ALLIES HAVE ARGUED THAT NATURE OF COMMITMENT FOR MANEUVERS MEASURE COULD BE EXPRESSED BY THE VERB "WILL", AS SUGGESTED BY BULGARIAN REP IN LATE MARCH (REF B.). IN ACCORDANCE WITH REF C, U.S. REP RECALLED THAT U.S. COULD PROBABLY ACCEPT USE OF VERB "WILL" ON CONDITION THAT LEGALLY SATISFACTORY TRANSITIONAL LANGUAGE FOR END OF PREAMBLE COULD BE DEVELOPED. TAKING INTO
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ACCOUNT POSITIONS OF US, NORWEGIAN REP MADE PERSONAL SUGGESTION THAT TRANSITIONAL LANGUAGE MIGHT BE ALONG LINES OF SUGGESTION MADE BY UK FOR BASKET III TRANSITION: "THE PARTICIPATING STATES HAVE DRAWN UP AND HEREWITH PLACE ON RECORD THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTIONS" (GENEVA 3323). ALLIES WILL CONTINUE DISCUSSION OF NATURE OF COMMITMENT AT MAY 22 CAUCUS.

5. STRUCTURE OF FINAL CBM'S DOCUMENT: NORWEGIAN REP HAS ALSO SUGGESTED THAT CBM'S AND OTHER MILITARY

SECURITY RESOLUTIONS SHOULD HAVE CHAPTER HEADINGS OR
SUB-TITLES ALONG LINES OF WESTERN PROPOSAL FOR BASKET III
(REF E). ON PERSONAL BASIS, NORWEGIAN REP GAVE US
FOLLOWING ILLUSTRATIVE LIST: BEGIN QUOTE:

I. PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANOEUVERS

II. INDEPENDENT NAVAL AND AIR, AND SMALLER SCALE MANOEUVERS

III. EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS

IV. PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS

V. OTHER CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES

VI. ESSENTIAL CONSIDERATIONS ON EFFORTS AIMED AT
PROMOTING DETENTE AND DISARMAMENT

VII. GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT. END QUOTE.

6. ACTION REQUESTED: FOR MAY 22 ALLIED DISCUSSION ON
NATURE OF COMMITMENT, WE WILL CONTINUE TO DRAW ON
EXISTING GUIDANCE IN REF. C. WE HAVE TOLD ALLIES THAT
WE WOULD NOT EXPECT INCLUSION OF WORDS "VOLUNTARY BASIS"
IN PREAMBLE TO CHANGE U.S. POSITION ON NATURE OF COMMIT-
MENT FOR MANEUVERS MEASURE IN ANY SIGNIFICANT WAY,
SINCE FOR PURPOSES OF CONGRESSIONAL PRESENTATION U.S.
WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE TO SEEK SIMILAR, NON-BINDING
EXPRESSIONS OF NATURE OF COMMITMENT IN OPERATIVE
LANGUAGE THROUGHOUT DOCUMENT. HOWEVER, DELEGATION
SEES NO LEGAL DIFFICULTIES IN THE TRANSITIONAL LANGUAGE SUGGESTED
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BY NORWAY IN PARA 4, AND RECOMMEND THAT WE BE AUTHORIZED
TO SUPPORT IT AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO SUGGESTION IN REF C.
WE WOULD ALSO APPRECIATE GUIDANCE ON THE NORWEGIAN
SUGGESTIONS FOR SUB-TITLES. WE ASSUME THAT OTHER ALLIES
WILL JOIN U.S. IN DISCOURAGING NORWEGIAN IDEA OF A
SEPARATE SUB-TITLE FOR INDEPENDENT NAVAL OR AIR
MANEUVERS, BUT SEE NO OBJECTION TO NORWEGIAN IDEA
IN PRINCIPLE, NOR TO THE OTHER PROPOSED SUB-TITLES.
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